Qazi Faiz Mohammad

(A Peasant Leader of Sindh)

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English Edition

Karachi 2025

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Foreword

Very little attention has been given to biographical literature in the Sindhi language. To this day, no comprehensive and authentic biography has been formally written in Sindh about any politician, poet, or writer. Yet, what should have happened is that we compiled biographies of our leaders and pioneers to acquaint our younger generation with their achievements, victories, and defeats.

Doing so would have ensured that the deeds and actions of our national leaders were preserved and became part of history. Moreover, our youth could have learned from past experiences and observations to plan wisely for the future.

When I began working on Sindh's history, I kept these realities in mind and included in my program the task of compiling biographies of great contemporary personalities of Sindh.

Under this program, I initially began writing the biographies of six national leaders of Sindh:

1. Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi
2. G. M Syed

3. Shaikh Abdul Majeed Sindhi
4. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi
5. Qazi Faiz Muhammad
6. Comrade Ghulam Muhammad Laghari

The first book in this series, *Qazi Faiz Muhammad*, is now in your hands. The rest will also be published soon.

Qazi Faiz Muhammad was a true servant of the Sindhi homeland, a sympathizer of the working class, and a devoted companion. He spent his entire life engaged in the struggle for the survival of the Sindhi nation and the protection of its rights. Wherever and whenever there was a movement for the rights of the working people of this land, he played a leading role in it. His love for Sindh and his compassion for its farmers and laborers transcended all religious and sectarian boundaries. He was a tireless individual who continued to struggle for truth and justice until the last moments of his life. His words and actions hold a significant place in Sindh's national history.

While writing the biography of such a proud and honorable man, I have tried my best to do justice to his legacy. This book will bear witness to that effort. I do not wish to boast, but I will say this much: perhaps no such comprehensive and

authentic biography has yet been written in Sindhi literature. I have tried to use as much verified material as possible and, within a limited number of pages, have portrayed every aspect of Qazi Sahib's life along with a brief outline of the politics of his time. This way, readers will not only learn about Qazi Sahib's life but also gain insight into the major political ups and downs and events of that era.

I hope that my effort will be appreciated by the well-wishers of Sindh.

— Ruk Sindhi
25 May 1985

Beginning

The 20th century was a revolutionary and fast-paced era for all of humanity. It witnessed the birth of two world wars. Subjugated nations regained their independence. For the first time, workers established socialist states on the global map. The world split into two ideological blocs. This century gave rise to both tyrants and oppressors who worked toward the destruction of humanity, and also to compassionate leaders and sympathizers of oppressed nations, laborers, and workers—those who renounced all comforts and luxuries to enter the field of action. They became companions of the weak and supporters of the suffering.

This same century gave birth to great revolutionary figures like Lenin, Mao, Che Guevara, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, and others who struggled tirelessly for the freedom, autonomy, prosperity, and empowerment of oppressed peoples and workers. They instilled courage and taught them to fight for their rights. In this very century, our Sindh—this land of ours—also gave birth to such bold and defiant individuals who did not hesitate to adorn their

mother's forehead with the vermilion of sacrifice. They shook the minds of the entire subcontinent to assert Sindh's identity and transform Sindhi's into a permanent and progressive nation. They struggled to restore national dignity and guided their wandering people toward a path built on truth and scientific clarity.

In 20th-century Sindh, we find many such names—recognized not only locally but also internationally—whose passion and work were praised across borders. Even today, vibrant nations honor the roles these great personalities played in global politics. Among such individuals is Qazi Faiz Muhammad. His actions and contributions hold a significant place in the "people's history" of Sindh and the world.

After studying Qazi Sahib's life, it can be said that after Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi, Qazi Faiz Muhammad was the second figure who consistently supported every movement for the prosperity of the Sindhi nation and its working people. His role in such Sindh-friendly movements was unique. Whenever and wherever the interests of Sindh or its workers were threatened, or whenever a greedy eye was cast upon this land, it became the target of Qazi Sahib's sharp sword. He always stood firm against every tyrant and

oppressor of his time. Studying the life of such a valiant fighter is undoubtedly a meaningful endeavor.

Qazi Sahib was a principled politician, a distinguished intellectual, an expert in education, a respected lawyer, a progressive writer, a connoisseur of classical music, and a devoted companion of workers. Every moment of his life was spent in service of the national cause. He never compromised on principles. He never concealed the truth for the sake of convenience, nor did he ever indulge in feudal politics. He always stood with the weak and protected the working class. His politics was not about entering the machinery of oppressive imperialism through elections and working as a cog in its wheel—it was a game of blood, a wager of life. It was the kind of politics where “the head is offered to the spear, even if it’s split in half.” He did not see politics as a feudal pastime or hobby, but as a complete science. He wrote: “Politics is an important science and the most influential practice of life.” (1)

He was a staunch opponent of the feudal and capitalist style of politics and of politicians who followed such paths. During colonial times in the subcontinent, instead of fighting decisive battles

through political organizations to gain freedom, some pursued ministries and favors by flattering imperial powers. About such politics, he said: “Politics is not just for nations—it is the life of all humanity. I don’t know what people think politics is. Some consider it a game. But all such people are ignorant. They have turned politics into a funeral and brought humanity to the brink of destruction. In reality, politics is a very noble science that must logically be used for the welfare of humanity. But sadly, especially in Muslim countries, politics has become a tool for self-interest. Through it, they have destroyed their own people and are now becoming the cause of global destruction.” (2)

Qazi Faiz Muhammad rose above personality cults and self-glorification. He often said: “People say one should establish their name and do something memorable. But I have reached a point where I believe even that thought is a form of egotism.” (3) Elsewhere he wrote: “I fear personality worship. We must highlight the public personality. Every person among the people should be turned into a pearl and a diamond… Personality in itself is nothing. Turning it into an idol and starting worship is a disease. Worshipping one’s own creation is a sickness. People get trapped in these illusions and perish. Every

personality is the result of its time and its hard work." (4)

During the oppressive days of British imperialism, he openly supported oppressed nations and classes with revolutionary spirit and style, stirring the political atmosphere. He was always a target of British wrath and anger. Yet he never sighed in complaint. He never lamented, "I did so much, suffered so many hardships." He quietly fulfilled his duty. His truthfulness, sincerity, bravery, and fearlessness were admired by both friends and foes. No one can cover up his revolutionary role.

The profession he belonged to—law—is one that in this country is often used to accumulate wealth, build bungalows, and gain status. Lawyers here are considered the most comfortable and affluent, driving fancy cars and living in luxury. Many lawyers' small huts have turned into mansions. But Qazi Sahib's property and wealth never evolved. He practiced law only to earn a living, not to acquire cars or bungalows. He always lived a simple life.

Whatever Qazi Sahib earned, he spent it on the country and the nation through politics. He remained the same from beginning to end. From his legal earnings, he kept only enough for

sustenance. The rest went toward printing books, distributing pamphlets, fighting cases for farmers, laborers, and political prisoners of his party, helping them in jail, contributing to party funds, and aiding the poor and needy. He described his financial condition in his final days as follows: “I have now become completely destitute. That is, whatever I earned through law over a lifetime—amounting to lakhs of rupees—I spent it all in politics for the betterment of the country and its people. Because in this country, true politics demands the sacrifice of one’s life, wealth, everything. At times, governments have seized homes and lands out of political hostility. At present, I have 1,500 rupees and some worn-out clothes.” (5)

Childhood and Education

Qazi Sahib was born on 23 November 1908 in Halani, a small yet historically significant town in the Nawabshah district of Sindh, in the home of Qazi Nabi Bux Siddiqui.

When Qazi Sahib was just six months old, his father passed away. After that, a series of deaths struck the extended family. Within a few months, all the male members of the household had died. Only Qazi Sahib and a few women remained. (6)

He began his education at the government Sindhi school in his village. At the age of ten, around 1918, the First World War broke out, and by 1919, the Khilafat and Congress movements gained momentum across the subcontinent. During this time, Qazi came into contact with Hindu students and Congress activists and enrolled in a national school. Thus, at the young age of eleven, he began participating in national activities. While in third grade, he started spinning the charkha, singing national anthems, and joining processions during the evening hours.

Qazi Sahib received his early education from various schools—first in Halani, then in 1922 at Khairpur High School. Later, he enrolled at the madrasa in Naushahro Feroze, which marked the true beginning of his political life. From 1927 onward, he entered the field of active politics. He participated in the “Quit India” movement and, during its middle phase, joined the “Simon Go Back” campaign. (7)

In 1927, the British Parliament sent a commission led by Sir John Simon to India to assess what administrative changes could be made to cool down the rising independence movements and suppress the “Quit India” campaign. (8) When this commission arrived in Karachi, the people of Sindh demanded separation from the Bombay Presidency, but the commission ignored this demand and rejected it outright. In response, progressive anti-imperialist Sindhi activists planned protests against the Simon Commission’s visit to Sindh. The goal was to make it clear that the people of the subcontinent were not willing to accept reforms that would undermine the independence movement or keep them under British rule. As a result of public opposition, the Simon Commission failed and returned.

At that time, Qazi Sahib was studying in Naushahro. Supporting the decision of Sindh's national leaders, he persuaded his peers to join the protest. He gave speeches in his school, distributed handwritten pamphlets, put up banners, and gathered a group of friends under his leadership. They went to Pad Idan railway station, where the commission members were passing through by train. As the train arrived, he and his companions chanted "Simon Go Back" slogans (9) and greeted the commission members with black flags.

To arrest Qazi Sahib, the police came to Naushahro school and asked teacher Usman Ali Ansari to hand him over. But the compassionate teacher refused to let the colonial police take a young student in his presence. He secretly helped Qazi Faiz Muhammad escape from the school premises. (10) The police searched the entire school but failed and returned empty-handed.

In 1929, Qazi Sahib passed his matriculation exams and was appointed as a clerk in Samaro. But he disliked government service, so with his mother's support, he enrolled at Aligarh, which at the time was a hub of political activity and a gathering place for national leaders. Living in Aligarh broadened his thinking and deepened his

intellectual maturity. After spending two years there, he returned and enrolled at Karachi Engineering College, but later transferred to Science College.

During his time in Karachi, he met leaders like Pandit Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Allama I. I. Qazi. Whenever such leaders visited Karachi, they would take Qazi Sahib along during their tours. During this period, he also attended rallies of Subhas Chandra Bose and was deeply influenced by his powerful speeches. He even endured police batons and beatings at those rallies. (11)

From a young age, Qazi Sahib was a patriot and a friend of the working class. Wherever he saw sparks of freedom for the nation and its oppressed people, he offered his services. During his student years, when martyr Allah Bux Soomro opposed religious nationalism and raised the slogan of freedom based on linguistic and geographic identity, preparing the ground for Sindh's full autonomy, Qazi Sahib was greatly inspired and became one of his supporters.

Allah Bux Soomro considered the Muslim League a puppet of the British and rejected the idea of religiously based independence as false freedom.

Around 1935–36, a rally was held at Khalique Deen Hall in support of Allah Bux, attended by Allama I. I. Qazi. Qazi Faiz Muhammad and G. M. Syed actively participated in the rally. The organizers appointed Qazi Faiz Muhammad as a bodyguard behind Allama I. I. Qazi's chair due to threats from government agents and Muslim League thugs. As feared, the rally was attacked. Government agents and Muslim Leaguers disrupted the event and assaulted attendees. Qazi Faiz Muhammad and other guards were beaten and thrown out of the venue. (12) He suffered deep wounds and was covered in blood.

In 1935, Qazi Sahib earned a B.Sc. degree from Bombay University. After that, he worked in various jobs. From 1933 to 1940, he served in the Education Department. Then in 1940, he earned an L.L.B. degree from Bombay University and began practicing law in 1941. He remained a senior lawyer at the Sindh High Court until his death.

Beginning of Political Life

As Qazi Faiz Muhammad became educated and aware, waves of thought began to rise in his mind. He saw foreign looters on his native land. He witnessed the humiliation of his homeland. He saw despair and hopelessness on the faces of the poor. He observed the elite class collecting titles and honors. He saw landlords and religious leaders in the assemblies pulling each other's turbans and competing to prove greater loyalty to British imperialism in exchange for rewards. The poor continued to grow poorer, while the rich became even richer. He could not bear the oppression and exploitation of the poor and working class.

How long could a sensitive-hearted person tolerate seeing the masses herded into jails like sheep, while bureaucrats inflated their own bellies? The white man from across the seas trampled those demanding the right to their birthplace under his military boots. He turned a small island, funded by foreign wealth, into the richest and most powerful Great Britain. When

Qazi Sahib understood the depth of these injustices, he severed all ties, defied worldly norms, and joined hands with other freedom fighters. From his student days until the end of his life, he stood with the oppressed and fought against tyranny from every platform.

His entry into politics was deeply influenced by his legal profession. At the time, lawyers were not only educated but also socially aware. Their knowledge of law enabled them to defend their nation through constitutional means. They understood the ups and downs of the world, the rise and fall of nations, and the dynamics of national and class struggles. Qazi Sahib, too, worked tirelessly to end his enslaved status and remove the yoke of British imperialism from his neck.

The Khaksar Movement

Qazi Sahib formally joined a political party around 1933. His first affiliation was with Allama Mashriqi's Khaksar Movement. He remained part of this movement from 1933 to 1945. (13) Around 1936, when Sindh was separated from Bombay and the Khaksar Movement gained momentum,

Qazi Sahib, Abdul Rahim Memon, and Al-Hadad Shujrah were the first people from Sindh to wear the Khaki uniform. Along with other friends, they would carry shovels and march through the streets of Karachi. (14)

During his time in the Khaksar Movement, a severe famine struck Bengal around 1942. Allama Mashriqi ordered Qazi Sahib and other party workers to volunteer in Calcutta. Qazi Sahib obeyed the party's command, went to Calcutta, and spent two months helping the affected people. (15) Upon returning from Bengal, he demonstrated Sindh's traditional hospitality by bringing with him a Bengali family of eight members and three orphaned children. He not only housed them at his own expense but also provided education to the young ones. Some of them completed their studies in Sindh and returned to Bengal with degrees. (16)

Sindh Hari Committee

This was a period in politics when national leaders from the upper class viewed politics as a means to gain personal fame, honor, and international recognition. The majority of the population was

suffering under the oppression of landlords, capitalists, and foreign exploiters. Farmers and laborers were victims of double exploitation—by both locals and outsiders. In Sindh, the atmosphere was rife with injustice, and the government and its officials were blind to the suffering.

There was no organization or party in Sindh that could raise a voice for the rights of the lower class, unite scattered farmers and laborers, and give them the awareness to demand their rights. In this dark period, some well-wishers of Sindh convened a “Sindh Hari Conference” in 1930 in Mirpurkhas, where the foundation of the “Sindh Hari Committee” was laid.

After the Muslim League and Congress, the Sindh Hari Committee became the second-largest party in Sindh. It worked on truly revolutionary foundations. Qazi Sahib was invited to join the Hari Committee in 1941 in Nawabshah by Dr. Hasanand, Comrade Abdul Qadir, and Jamaluddin Bukhari. Since he was already impressed by the committee’s work and mission, he gladly accepted the invitation and formally became a member.

Qazi Sahib began using his abilities to awaken Sindh’s farmers and struggle for their rights. The

Hari Committee provided him a platform to fulfill his ideals. He served farmers and laborers with utmost sincerity and devotion. Despite the physical and financial hardships and the torment inflicted by the upper class, he endured everything with a smile and never complained. He once wrote:
“Without sacrifice, salvation is extremely difficult… This land is in great need of true sacrifice. The vehicle to reach the destination is sacrifice—offer it, and the journey moves forward.” (18)

During British rule, around 1945–46, Qazi Sahib launched the “Batai Movement” through the Hari Committee. According to this movement, farmers were to receive three parts of the crop yield, while landlords would get two parts and bear the costs of irrigation and other expenses. (19) Under Qazi Sahib’s supervision, this movement achieved great success.

In the 1945 Sindh Assembly elections, the Hari Committee decided to field its own candidates. Qazi Sahib was nominated from the Kandiaro constituency. In terms of public rallies, the Hari Committee came second only to Congress. However, due to collusion between landlords and the government, the Hari candidates were

defeated. They were removed from polling stations, and their voters were beaten and chased away. (20)

Qazi Faiz Muhammad remained with the Hari Committee from 1941 for the rest of his life. Though he participated in various parties and movements, he remained a committed and active member of the Hari Committee. He worked on its platform for nearly 40 years, leading many successful movements and struggles for farmers' rights. Even while part of the Khaksar Movement, he remained a member of the Hari Committee. Later, when he fought for Sindh's protection from the platforms of the Muslim League and Awami League, he continued to stand with the farmers.

Joining the Muslim League

The Muslim League had long been running a movement for the partition of the subcontinent based on the Two-Nation Theory. Its political ideology influenced many people. Numerous individuals were swept up in this tide and joined the League, supporting the Hindu-Muslim divide. At the time, the political landscape was dominated by Congress and the Muslim League. Unfortunately, both parties were largely controlled by self-serving landlords and capitalists who operated under British influence, attacking and dismantling weaker, more sincere groups.

When Qazi Faiz Muhammad and his like-minded companions saw that people were being manipulated by religious sentiment to serve the interests of Muslim League landlords and capitalists—and that the British had already decided to divide the subcontinent along religious lines—they resolved to join the Muslim League. Their aim was to wrest leadership from the bloodthirsty landlords and prevent the reins of the new country from falling into the hands of the elite. They believed that labor-friendly leaders should guide the people and take charge of the

new nation. With this vision, Qazi Sahib and others joined the League. Whether their reasoning was correct is something only history can judge. But it's clear that they were not entirely right, as the Muslim League was not the only platform through which one could serve the people of the emerging nation.

Still, Qazi Sahib joined a more progressive faction of the League—one closer to socialist and communist ideals, led by Maulana Hasrat Mohani. (21) In 1946, Qazi Sahib joined this group, and Maulana Mohani appointed him as the leader for Sindh. Maulana Mohani was trying to unite socialists across India to prevent the other faction of the League—dominated by landlords and religious leaders—from seizing power and becoming absolute rulers with British support. But experience showed that under reactionary leadership, meaningful progress was impossible.

Following the principle "Whether the snake dies or the enemy dies, it makes no difference," the British government sought to crush Sindh's freedom movement through Muslim League ministers. These ministers, driven by greed for office, turned their guns on Sindh's freedom fighters. The "Hur Movement," which was conducting an armed struggle for independence,

was brutally suppressed. In March 1942, the Sindh Assembly passed the “Hur Act,” leading to the arrest and torture of thousands of Hurs and their sympathizers. (22) In June 1942, martial law was imposed in Sindh for twelve months. During this period, the freedom fighter Sibghatullah Shah was martyred on 1 March 1943.

After the elections on 21 January 1946, the British Governor of Sindh offered the formation of a new cabinet to landlord Sir Ghulam Hussain, who became Chief Minister, with Ayub Khuhro as a minister. Both men continued the campaign to eliminate Sindh’s freedom-loving Hurs. Witnessing these injustices, Qazi Sahib’s heart burned. He mobilized his group to resist. The Muslim League Council formed a delegation under his leadership to meet Muhammad Ali Jinnah and expose the misconduct of the League’s ministers. Qazi Sahib led the delegation. When the full Sindh cabinet met under Jinnah’s chairmanship, Qazi Sahib and his members attended. He spoke to Jinnah in strong terms, holding him responsible. He later wrote:

“My stance was so firm that, had it happened today, I would have been sent to jail. But no action was taken against me. Khuhro and others agreed that the injustices would be addressed.” (23)

Due to British conspiracies and the collusion of landlords and capitalists, the infamous partition of 1947 occurred, severely damaging the unity and brotherhood of the subcontinent's peoples. Sindh suffered greatly. The Sindhi nation, language, and culture were pushed into darkness. Many locals migrated to India and became refugees, while migrants from India arrived in Sindh.

At that time, Qazi Sahib was swept up in the fervor of Muslim nationalism. He admitted: "Well, we were very emotional people. Qazi Sahib (I. I. Qazi) used to say that Pakistan's creation might lead to displacement… but we were so caught up in the League's passion that we didn't pay attention to that." (24)

After partition, when he witnessed the migration and violence against Hindus in Sindh, his heart was deeply affected. He began efforts to stop the migration and launched a campaign urging Hindus not to leave Sindh. He made appeals and offered support. He organized joint Hindu-Muslim gatherings and sent telegrams inviting Gandhi to visit. This campaign angered self-serving Muslim landlords and capitalists, and the government warned Qazi Sahib to stop or face imprisonment. Nevertheless, he toured Sindh, telling Hindus in his speeches:

“Dear ones, this country belongs to both you and us. Sindh is ours collectively. Do not leave your homeland.” (25)

When conditions worsened and Sindhi Hindus migrated to India, their lands—rightfully belonging to local Sindhi farmers—were handed over to outsiders through false claims. The government passed laws allowing migrants to file fake claims and seize properties and lands.

The settlement law included a clause stating that any house worth more than 10,000 rupees would not be given to a local person. Similarly, no shop would be allotted to a local. In 1949, the Sindh Assembly passed a resolution to return mortgaged lands held by Hindus to their original owners—Sindhi Muslims. Though the resolution passed, the Governor General did not sign it, so it never became law. In contrast, Punjab implemented this law fully, and mortgaged lands were returned to rightful owners. (26)

Landlords, feudal elites, and outsiders began seizing Hindu lands and evicting farmers. Qazi Faiz Muhammad launched a movement to allocate these lands to farmers, which later became known as the “Allottee Movement.” Its goal was to give half the land to local farmers. This alarmed

landlords and settlers, who saw their interests threatened. Reactionary forces conspired with the government to pressure Chief Minister Khuhro and have Qazi Sahib imprisoned under Section 107.

The movement to allocate Hindu lands to Sindhi farmers was also sabotaged by landlords. In Nawabshah district, the Deputy Commissioner Masood Khadarposh misled the movement, encouraging farmers to forcibly occupy Hindu lands. A tragic incident occurred when farmer activists seized land belonging to a Hindu who had represented farmers in the Sindh Assembly. (27) This raised fears that the movement might take on a communal tone. As a result, the movement failed. Qazi Sahib was deeply saddened by this misdirection. After realizing the opportunists' tactics, he began closely monitoring Hari Committee workers and expelled some members.

Separation of Karachi

The Muslim League landlords and non-native settlers in Sindh had long harbored the idea that to break the unity and solidarity of Sindh's working class, they must erase Sindh's national identity, reduce Sindhi's to a minority, and consolidate their own power. The first target of their greedy ambitions was Karachi—Sindh's prosperous and only port city, which generated millions in revenue. To seize this income, they maneuvered to separate Karachi from Sindh. This was the first step toward fragmenting Sindh.

In 1948, Pakistan's Constituent Assembly decided to detach Karachi from Sindh. This anti-Sindh move by the central government was opposed by people from all classes and ideologies. In response, the Sindh Muslim League Council passed a resolution instructing ministers to take a firm stand on the Karachi issue and, if necessary, resign from their posts and contest fresh elections. The Working Committee of the Sindh Muslim League also opposed the decision. (28)

Patriotic activists in Sindh condemned this conspiracy by outsiders and took action. They pressured the central government to reverse the decision, reattach Karachi to Sindh, and ease the

growing unrest. Qazi Faiz Muhammad actively participated in this movement. He informed Chief Minister Ayub Khuhro of the entire conspiracy and gained his support. He rallied members and ministers of the Sindh Assembly to oppose the division and helped pass a bill against it. (29) To raise public awareness, he toured Sindh, delivering speeches and publishing writings.

Qazi Sahib's arguments had such an impact on Khuhro that, despite being Chief Minister of Sindh and President of the Sindh Muslim League, he refused to hand over Karachi to the central government. In retaliation, the center, with the help of Sindh's Governor Sir Ghulam Hussain, incited Mir Ghulam Ali and Pir Ilahi Bux to oppose Khuhro and persuade assembly members to abandon resistance. But they failed to gain a majority. (30)

The center then ordered Sir Ghulam Hussain to dismiss Khuhro's cabinet and appoint Pir Ilahi Bux as Chief Minister. In April 1948, Khuhro was removed from office and charged under the "Sindh Special Council Ordinance No. 2." (31)

Upon becoming Chief Minister, Pir Ilahi Bux handed over Karachi to the center without seeking approval from the Sindh Assembly. (32)

Temporarily, the anti-Sindh forces succeeded in their scheme.

Qazi Faiz Muhammad strongly opposed Karachi's separation. As soon as Pir Ilahi Bux assumed office, he filed a false case of robbery against Qazi Sahib and four of his relatives, sending them to jail.

After being released, Qazi Sahib resumed his work. To eliminate this obstacle and continue exploiting the country in peace, landlords and outsiders plotted to assassinate him. In the final months of 1948, bandits were sent to his home with orders to kill him under the guise of a robbery. One night, the bandits broke into his house. Fortunately, Qazi Sahib survived. The intruders looted valuables, beat his mother with sticks, and assaulted his sister-in-law so severely that the child in her womb died. His wife was also brutally beaten.

This incident occurred while Qazi Sahib was still a member of the Muslim League's Central Committee. He later wrote:
"My only crime was that I demanded Hindu lands be given to Sindhi farmers." (33)

Separation from the Muslim League

Qazi Faiz Muhammad became deeply disillusioned by the central government's political schemes and the anti-Sindh conspiracies of the Muslim League landlords. He began contemplating working from a different platform.

He formally left the Muslim League around 1950, during the by-election for the seat vacated by Pir Ilahi Bux. At that time, Ayub Khuhro, the President of Sindh's Muslim League, tried to get his brother-in-law Abdul Latif Panhwar elected unopposed. To do so, he illegally prevented opposition candidates like Comrade Jatoi, Shafi Muhammad Akhund, and others from submitting their nomination papers. (34) Qazi Sahib wrote about the League:
"Soon, due to the vile deeds of Sindh's oppressive

ministers, I had to leave the League and knock on the doors of prison." (35)

His departure from the Muslim League was a clear declaration that he no longer agreed with its national ideology at any cost. He knew, with full honesty, that the League's philosophy—its conspiracies, deceit, and manipulations—would eventually throw Sindh into a deep abyss of destruction, where all Sindhi's would be left helpless. Qazi Sahib underwent a major transformation in his thoughts and ideology, and he deeply regretted his past involvement. Reflecting on this shift, he wrote:

"We did not gain independence through any clear program, nor under sincere leadership, nor with the kind of sacrifice seen in other countries. Those nations had specific programs they wanted to implement. Their leadership was genuine and forged in fire. They achieved freedom through immense sacrifices—through blood. But here, the opposite happened. It began with prejudice, and the British misled us so thoroughly that, in the name of freedom, they merely cut the visible chains of slavery from our necks and threw us into such a pit that we continue to burn and suffer to this day." (36)

After leaving the League, Qazi Sahib's political ideology underwent a profound revolution. He had once supported Muslim nationalism, but now he embraced modern, inclusive nationalism. When proponents of the Two-Nation Theory began claiming that the lands of Sindh, Bengal, the Frontier, Balochistan, and Punjab belonged to migrants from India based on Muslim nationalism—and that Urdu was the sole national language meant to replace all others—Qazi Sahib fiercely opposed this view. He called these claims by Urdu-speaking elites false, deceptive, and fraudulent. (37)

In one of his essays, he wrote in detail about the creation and partition of Pakistan:
"Jinnah's 14 Points demanded rights for Muslims in India, not a separate homeland. These demands were rejected by Hindus. Under the leadership of Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, a joint Hindu-Muslim peace conference was held, but there was no talk of separation—only the protection of Muslim rights. Eventually, in 1932, the Sindh Muslim League Conference presented the idea of Pakistan, and later a resolution was passed in Lahore. Nowhere, on any document, was it stated that Hindus and Sikhs would be expelled from Punjab, Bengal, Sindh, and other provinces to settle Indian Muslims in Pakistan. Is there anyone

who can explain to these Urdu newspaper writers that Pakistan is not the home of all Indian Muslims… If Pakistan was truly meant to be the home of all Muslims, why wasn't the migration organized before partition?" (38)

This was Qazi Sahib's later vision of Pakistan—his revised ideology and his new programmatic outlook. From then on, he continued his work guided by this new perspective.

Hari Committee and Beyond

After leaving the Muslim League, Qazi Faiz Muhammad found the Sindh Hari Committee to be the most suitable platform to promote his ideology and bring his ideals into practice. He had already been working with the Hari Committee for quite some time. When he re-engaged actively with the committee, its members recognized his exceptional abilities and elected him as President in 1951. He served in this role until 1953. (39) During this period, he undertook numerous initiatives for the welfare and upliftment of farmers.

While serving in the Hari Committee, he was imprisoned in 1951 by Sindh's Chief Minister Muhammad Ayub Khuhro and detained in the Kandiaro sub-district lockup. (40) This was an attempt to halt his struggle for farmers' rights. During his presidency, he facilitated the allotment of abandoned lands—previously seized by landlords and outsiders—to rightful farmers. He

intensified efforts to provide land to landless peasants through the Hari Committee.

When the committee launched the Half-and-Half Crop Share Movement (Adhwadh Batai), Qazi Sahib played a major role in its success. He also worked alongside Comrade Jatoi to help pass the Thirty-Three Act (Teetsee Act), a law aimed at protecting farmers' rights.

During this time, Qazi Sahib initiated the "Hari Haqdaar Movement" in Sanghar and Nawabshah districts, ensuring fair crop shares and other agricultural rights for farmers. While he was President of the Hari Committee, the "Sindh Agricultural Commission" was formed. He was appointed to its subcommittee alongside G. M. Syed and Miran Muhammad Shah.

This subcommittee was tasked with drafting a bill for the permanent settlement of nomadic tribes, farmers, laborers, refugees, and other displaced people in stable villages across Sindh.

While working in the Hari Committee, Qazi Sahib also had ideological differences with Comrade Hyder Bux Jatoi, primarily of a religious nature. Qazi Sahib was a religious-minded person and could not fully embrace socialist thought. As a

result, despite his commitment to laborers, he made several unintentional mistakes. His thinking was heavily influenced by the philosophy of Allama I. I. Qazi. Because of this influence, he supported and helped workers but could not adopt a Marxist-Leninist scientific framework for their liberation. His close association with Allama Sahib often left him mentally conflicted, and these conflicts were reflected in his work within the Hari Committee. (41)

For a brief period, due to differences with Comrade Jatoi, he joined Alauddin Sami to form the “Islamic Hari Committee.” However, he soon realized the flaws in this approach. Acknowledging his mistake, he rejoined Comrade Jatoi. (42) After that, he never disagreed with Comrade Jatoi again, and no one could sway him from that strategic path.

All Pakistan Awami Party

While Qazi Sahib was active in the Hari Committee, the Awami Party was playing a significant role in national politics. It opposed the ruling party and worked for the prosperity of the homeland. When Qazi Sahib saw that this party

promoted a modern nationalist ideology and was struggling to secure provincial autonomy, and that its economic program prioritized laborers' welfare, he joined the organization. His aim was to unite progressives from all provinces to overthrow feudalism and build a socialist society.

As a member, Qazi Sahib contributed significantly to the Awami Party and made it quite popular in his region. However, the government soon moved to undermine the party's growing popularity and disrupt the unity of progressives by arresting its leaders and activists.

During this time, Mian Iftikharuddin founded the "Azad Pakistan Party." He sought to bring all nationalist activists into this new party. Alongside other activists, Qazi Faiz Muhammad also joined Mian Iftikhar's party. (43) This was because the Awami Party's operations had been completely shut down, and the government was closely monitoring its members.

Sindh Awami Mahaz

In April 1953, during the elections for the third Legislative Assembly, a group of activists decided on March 17, 1953, to form a united front called the *Sindh Awami Mahaz* (Sindh People's Front) in opposition to the ruling Muslim League. This front was established in collaboration with other progressive parties of Sindh, based on a shared program. Its primary aim was to strive for the establishment of a democratic government in Sindh and Pakistan. (44) Another key objective was to secure provincial autonomy for smaller provinces—principles that aligned closely with Qazi Sahib's core beliefs, political vision, and the agenda of the Sindh Hari Committee.

Therefore, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, along with his party—the Sindh Hari Committee—joined this united front. The Awami Party, Azad Pakistan Party, and the Sindh branches of the Awami League also became part of the Mahaz and fielded joint candidates in the elections. (45)

Qazi Sahib worked in the Mahaz as an active organizer, striving to spread its program to as many people as possible. With the dedication of sincere activists, seven members were elected on the Awami Mahaz ticket and took seats on the opposition benches in the Sindh Assembly. (46) These members raised their voices in defense of Sindh's rights, mobilized others to support Sindh's causes, and passed resolutions in the Assembly for the protection of Sindh's interests—including the return of Karachi and other critical issues.

Awami Mahaz Convention

After the elections, Qazi Sahib convened the first Awami Mahaz convention in Nawabshah. During this convention, the front adopted a formal constitution and was transformed into an organized political party. Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi was elected President of the Mahaz, and Qazi Faiz Muhammad was appointed Secretary General. (47) The convention was held on October 26–27, 1953, in Nawabshah, with Qazi Sahib serving as its Chairman.

The main purpose of this conference was to secure constitutional rights for Sindh and restore

the province's autonomy. Prominent leaders and activists from across the country attended. Open discussions were held on the issues facing Sindh and Pakistan, and several resolutions were passed. (48) Organizing this convention, managing its logistics, and making it a success at the national level was one of Qazi Faiz Muhammad's major achievements.

Anti-One Unit Movement

The ruling class of Pakistan has consistently imposed severe forms of dictatorship to protect its class interests and suppress public dissent. Especially in smaller provinces, the awakening, unity, and struggle for rights by the oppressed yet intellectually advanced people have always been intolerable to reactionary forces. These forces, along with their allies from the dominant province and a particular minority elite, have sought legal justifications to exploit and plunder the smaller provinces.

To intensify this exploitation, they deemed it necessary to centralize all provincial powers, control their economies, and establish a strong administrative center. Through coercion, they treated smaller nations as colonies and imposed brutal authoritarian rule—particularly to suppress public movements in East Pakistan. In pursuit of this goal, the ruling elite decided in 1954 to merge the four provinces of West Pakistan into a single unit.

This move allowed the central administration to control all provinces in West Pakistan, making it easier to suppress and exploit them. It also enabled the division of East and West Pakistan into equal units, thereby neutralizing East Pakistan's numerical majority and justifying the suppression of its democratic movements. By creating One Unit, the ruling class erased the distinct national identities and political-economic interests of smaller provinces, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation under the guise of Muslim nationalism.

In Sindh, this meant erasing its national status, settling outsiders, and reducing Siddhi's to a minority. Lands from Sindh's irrigation barrages, local jobs, and industries were seized and handed over to non-Sindhi's.

People from smaller provinces—especially Sindh—cried out against this injustice, but their voices went unheard. Sindh was effectively wiped off the map. Chief Minister Pirzada Abdul Sattar strongly opposed the One Unit Bill, calling it an act of tyranny against Sindh. The central government dissolved the Constituent Assembly and forcibly removed his government despite his majority in the Assembly. (49) Anti-One Unit Speaker Mir

Ghulam Ali Talpur was arrested and detained in the town of Mithi, Tharparkar. (50)

Pirzada Abdul Sattar was replaced by landlord Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, who was made Chief Minister and forced the One Unit Bill through on December 11, 1954. (51)

A nationwide movement against One Unit began. Protests erupted in Sindh, Balochistan, and the Frontier Province. Action committees were formed. Qazi Faiz Muhammad joined the movement in 1954. At the time, Chief Minister Khuhro was brutally suppressing opposition to One Unit—using police violence, attacks by hired thugs, torture, and imprisonment to silence dissent.

Despite this, Qazi Sahib, G. M. Syed, Sheikh Sindhi, and Comrade Jatoi launched a campaign against One Unit. G. M. Syed and Qazi Sahib planned a tour across Sindh to mobilize public support. But as soon as the government caught wind of it, G. M. Syed was arrested at his bungalow. Qazi Sahib, undeterred, continued with the plan and held the first rally in Karachi. He then traveled across Sindh in a jeep, campaigning against One Unit.

He visited Karachi, Thatta, Kotri, Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Dadu, Qambar, Ratodero, and Larkana. Thousands attended his rallies, their passion and enthusiasm shaking the government's confidence. His movement confused and rattled anti-Sindh forces. When he reached Larkana—Ayub Khuhro's hometown—the rally turned into a massive gathering. Slogans against One Unit echoed loudly. His emotional speech shook the foundations of the oppressive regime.

Alarmed, the government decided to halt his tour and eliminate him. Chief Minister Khuhro ordered Larkana's Collector Anwar Adil to arrest Qazi Sahib. At 11 PM, under the Public Safety Act, he was detained. (52) He was taken from Larkana to Sukkur during the cold winter night, exposed to the open air on a truck. On the way, a tree branch struck his head, causing a deep wound. Bleeding, he arrived at the Central Jail. (53)

While imprisoned, Senate elections were held, and Qazi Faiz Muhammad was elected as a member even from jail. He filed a writ petition against his arrest in the High Court and was released by court order. After his release, his legal practice had been disrupted, so he traveled abroad for three months—visiting England,

Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Egypt. (54)

To dismantle One Unit effectively and restore Sindh's national status, patriotic leaders of Sindh remained active. On October 29–30, 1955, Comrade Jatoi, G. M. Syed, and Qazi Sahib jointly formed the "Sindh Anti-One Unit Front." Comrade Jatoi was appointed Secretary, and Qazi Sahib and others became active members. They planned a tour to mobilize public support against One Unit. (55)

Through decisive struggle, Qazi Sahib and other great leaders of Sindh exposed the sinister conspiracies of anti-Sindh forces and won the support of the people.

Awami League and NAP

To strengthen the movement against One Unit and gain support from Pakistan's largest province, Bengal, Qazi Faiz Muhammad initiated talks with the Awami League. His aim was to make Bengalis allies in the struggle and expand the movement's reach. At the time, the Awami League was led by President Shaheed Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and General Secretary Mahmoodul Haq Usmani. Responding to an invitation from the General Secretary, Qazi Sahib joined the Awami League in 1955 along with his companions Ghulam Muhammad Leghari and Mir Rasool Bux Talpur. (56)

Upon joining, Qazi Sahib immediately presented Sindh's interests to the Bengali leadership and informed them about the issues faced by the smaller provinces of West Pakistan. Under the influence of Sindh's leaders, the Awami League initially opposed One Unit and actively supported the struggle of the smaller provinces. The

League's central leadership appointed Qazi Sahib as General Secretary for Sindh. (57)

Qazi Sahib organized anti–One Unit rallies across Sindh on behalf of the Awami League. With the help of Comrade Ghulam Muhammad Leghari, he held a grand conference in Mirpurkhas. (58)

In 1955, while Qazi Sahib was with the Awami League, the pro–One Unit, anti-Sindh landlord Muhammad Ayub Khuhro filed nomination papers to contest a vacant seat in the Sindh Assembly from Sanghar. Khuhro's influence was so strong that no one dared to stand against him. But Qazi Sahib, with courage and resolve, went to Sanghar and filed his nomination on an Awami League ticket. (59) He wrote about this moment:
"I thought to myself—should this enemy of Sindh be elected unopposed and the world be told that he is a popular leader and that Sindh supports One Unit? That would be a great humiliation for us." (60)

When Qazi Sahib arrived to file his nomination papers, Khuhro and Pir Ali Muhammad Rashidi instructed IG Isaanee to have him abducted by the police. Qazi Sahib was kidnapped, beaten, and dumped 15–50 miles outside the city in the

wilderness. As a result, Khuhro was elected unopposed. (61)

Undeterred by this tyranny, Qazi Sahib filed a kidnapping case against Chief Minister Khuhro in Shahdadpur. When he tried to attend the court hearing, Khuhro had the entire city surrounded by police, preventing Qazi Sahib from entering. The case was dismissed. Qazi Sahib then filed an appeal in the High Court. Meanwhile, Khuhro met with him and threatened:
“Qazi, you won’t stop filing cases against me—I will make you suffer.” (62)

Khuhro then had a false case filed against Qazi Sahib, accusing him of holding an illegal rally in Nawabshah where he allegedly said:
“Khan Aqrar Khan is preparing from that side, the Hurs are rising from this side. Let’s wage jihad to end Pakistan.” (63)

Police filed the complaint, and warrants were issued without explanation. Qazi Sahib surrendered to the High Court and requested bail, which was granted. The case was proven false, and he was acquitted.

Throughout these ordeals, Awami League leaders like Suhrawardy and Sheikh Mujibur Rahman fully

supported Qazi Sahib. Party workers stood firmly by their General Secretary. Meanwhile, Khuhro became infamous not only in Pakistan but internationally. American newspapers even labeled him “Gangster of Pakistan.” (64)

Later, Qazi Sahib grew disillusioned with the Awami League leadership when they began supporting One Unit. Their actions severely harmed the smaller provinces. Suhrawardy, then Prime Minister, was influenced by pro–One Unit President Iskander Mirza and adopted the ideology of West Pakistan’s unity, becoming a supporter of One Unit. (65)

Qazi Sahib and other leaders from West Pakistan had joined the Awami League to gain Bengal’s support in dismantling One Unit and restoring provincial rights. The League’s shift in policy deeply disappointed him, and he decided it was no longer appropriate to remain in the party.

Suhrawardy convened a meeting of 25 members of the Working Committee at the Prime Minister’s House. As a member, Qazi Sahib attended. Suhrawardy delivered a flattering speech defending his position, supporting America and One Unit. (66, 67) Even prominent leaders like Maulana Bhashani were present, but none dared

to speak against the Prime Minister in his own residence. Qazi Sahib, however, could not remain silent and responded to Suhrawardy. He later wrote:

“My group asked me to respond to Suhrawardy. In my speech, I was very bitter.” (68)

All Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP)

When Maulana Bhashani and others parted ways with Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and left the Awami League, they began discussions with leaders of the Pakistan National Party. Maulana Bhashani held talks with G. M. Syed, Khan Aqrar, and Sheikh Sindhi to form a new party. Later, like-minded leaders convened a meeting in Dhaka, which Qazi Faiz Muhammad also attended. In that meeting, the *All Pakistan National Awami Party (NAP)* was founded. Maulana Bhashani was elected President, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi became President for Sindh Province, and Qazi Faiz Muhammad was appointed General Secretary for Sindh. (69)

The party organized a major rally at the Palton Maidan in Bengal. Awami League workers, who were in power in Bengal at the time, disrupted the event. Police and Awami League activists surrounded the leaders and broke up the rally. As leaders from Sindh and other provinces were leaving the venue, police attacked them. Qazi

Sahib was among those injured—struck with rifle butts. (70)

Qazi Sahib played a significant role in laying the foundation of NAP. At the Dhaka convention, he strongly advocated for the rights of the smaller provinces of West Pakistan. Upon returning to Sindh, he launched a tour program and held rallies in all major cities. In Khairpur Mirs, he organized a conference attended by G. M. Syed, Sheikh Sindhi, Usmani, Maulana Bhashani, Khan Aqrar, and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. He later held another rally in Nawabshah, also attended by these leaders. A massive procession of farmers was taken out on trucks.

At that time, the Awami League, Muslim League, and the government were alarmed by NAP's growing popularity. They tried to disrupt the rallies and incited attacks. In Nawabshah, too, they attempted to sabotage the event, but thousands of rural farmers stood firm, and the rally continued with full vigor. Fearless speeches were delivered against One Unit and in support of the rights of smaller provinces.

Later, NAP organized a major farmers' conference in the town of Lundi, which was also attended by Maulana Bhashani. (71)

On November 9, 1957, when Maulana Bhashani visited Nawabshah as NAP President, Qazi Faiz Muhammad welcomed him with a speech in which he posed several questions about Sindh's welfare. He told Bhashani that if his party raised its voice for Sindhi's' rights and needs, the people of Sindh would support it. Otherwise, "we will not remain in any party that harms Sindh's interests."

In his welcome address, Qazi Sahib also condemned the One Unit government's policy of seizing Sindhi farmers' lands and allotting them to false claimants. He appealed to NAP leaders to raise their voices against this injustice. (72)

World Peace Conference

While serving as NAP's General Secretary for Sindh, Qazi Sahib was invited to attend the World Peace Conference in Colombo (then Ceylon). Leftist parties from around the world were invited, and NAP received an official invitation. Qazi Sahib, G. M. Syed, and Sheikh Sindhi were scheduled to attend. However, after Qazi Sahib departed, the government realized he was working against its interests and banned the others from traveling. As a result, Qazi Sahib had

to represent NAP and the entire Pakistani leftist delegation alone.

He participated in every session of the conference with great enthusiasm and expressed his views in English on establishing global peace. At the end of his speech, he recited a verse in his beloved Sindhi language before translating it into English to introduce Shah Abdul Latif's philosophy to the audience:

"Kadhi kaan kaman maan, mian maaraj na moon; Moon mein aahein toon, matan tunhjo ee roohi lagay."

("Draw not the bow, my friend, do not strike me; You dwell within me—lest you wound your own soul.")

His speech left a strong impression on the audience. Out of thousands of speeches delivered by global leaders, six were declared outstanding—one of them was Qazi Sahib's.

While in Colombo, Qazi Sahib met many Sindhi Hindus, learned about their hardships, informed them about the conditions in Sindh and the Sindhi nation, and gave lectures on their future. Many local Sindhi's invited him to speak further. (73)

Allottee Movement

Just before the partition of the subcontinent, Sindhi farmers, through their courage and struggle, had succeeded in getting a bill passed in the Sindh Assembly. The bill stated that lands taken by Sindhi Hindus from farmers—through interest and debt repayment—should be returned to the rightful cultivators. Before the bill could become law, partition occurred. The farmers repeated their demand before the new government, but it paid no attention to this legitimate issue. Instead of returning the abandoned lands to Sindhi farmers, the government began allotting them to incoming migrants.

In response, the farmers launched a powerful movement. Alarmed, the government allotted some lands to local farmers. During the movement, farmers reclaimed their stolen lands, and some began receiving their rightful shares. This alarmed both the migrants and local landlords, as the farmers' rising strength threatened their hereditary dominance. Through the "Hari Haqdaar Movement," nearly 40% of

farmers began living by the principle “he who tills shall eat.” (74)

For four to five years, farmers cultivated the allotted lands as their own and earned a decent livelihood. But seven years later, when the Ghulam Muhammad Barrage was completed and work on the Guddu Barrage began, the government—under One Unit—started reallocating millions of acres to non-Sindhi’s. Previous allotment orders were canceled, and central authorities forcibly gave these lands to outsiders. Sindhi farmers were evicted, their villages destroyed, and they were displaced. Under One Unit, a new catastrophe unfolded.

Beyond the allotted lands, even the fertile barrage lands—developed with Sindhi labor and money—were distributed among migrants, Punjabi soldiers and landlords, Kashmiris, and Pathans, either for free or at minimal cost.

This blatant injustice and exploitation sparked widespread protests across Sindh. All conscious citizens and leaders rose up in resistance. Before detailing Qazi Sahib’s role, here are some statistics on the lands illegally allotted to outsiders:

1. Government reports revealed that in southern Sindh alone, illegal property worth 130 million rupees had been allotted to migrants. (Daily Karwan, Hyderabad – 18 December 1958)
2. The Special Settlement Commissioner of Hyderabad and Khairpur told journalists that in just three months, 8,650 migrant claimants were allotted 200,000 acres, and over 11 years, migrants received 400,000 acres. (23 January 1959)
3. 10,000 acres of Kotri Barrage land were distributed among people from Azad Kashmir. (3 February 1959)
4. 40,000 acres of Kotri Barrage land were reserved for Karachi migrants. In Sanghar district, 1,000 military families were settled and given 50,000 acres. (31 December 1958)
5. In Makhy Dhandh, 100,000 acres were designated for military families. (24 April 1954)
6. Millions of acres from Kotri and Guddu Barrages were handed to absentee landlords and non-Sindhi's, even displacing long-settled local villagers.

These figures show how little regard the One Unit government had for the well-being of Sindh's

people. In such conditions, Qazi Faiz Muhammad launched the Allottee Movement to protect the rights of Sindh's laborers. He led this movement from the NAP platform, with support from Sindh Hari Committee workers and communists. (75)

He first organized a major rally at Lundi Station, attended by Maulana Bhashani, Khan Abdul Samad Khan, and other prominent leaders. (76)

Being deeply emotional and sensitive, Qazi Sahib could not bear the farmers' suffering. In protest, he began a hunger strike in Nawabshah, vowing to continue until death. After eight days, when the government still ignored the issue, his companions persuaded him to end the strike and resume the movement through other means. (77)

He then launched a civil disobedience campaign, starting from the town of Mehrabpur in Kandiaro Taluka. He traveled across Kandiaro and Naushahro Feroze in his "Hari Jeep," reaching out to farmers. He set up a camp near a poor farmer woman's village, joined by Comrade Jamaluddin Bukhari. The government imposed Section 144 in the town, but Qazi Sahib moved the camp half a mile outside the restricted zone. Around 10–15 leaders stayed there, and they began defying Section 144 in groups. Daily, farmers would

volunteer for arrest—eventually, 111 were jailed. (78)

Despite this, the government refused to negotiate or grant rights. Qazi Sahib announced that he would join the arrests once 5,000 farmers gathered. Only 100 showed up that day, so he did not proceed.

The government intensified its repression—torturing arrested farmers and confiscating their properties to break their spirit. The success of this movement posed a threat to both local and foreign exploiters. The entire government machinery unleashed cruelty on the defenseless farmers. The mass arrests and property seizures began to weaken the movement. To sustain morale, Qazi Sahib and other leaders decided to secure the release of prisoners and return confiscated properties. They appealed to the Deputy Commissioner and succeeded in freeing the farmers and waiving their fines. (79)

While leading the civil disobedience campaign near Mehrabpur, Qazi Sahib missed a NAP meeting in Hyderabad. Elections were held during that meeting. Though absent, his friends nominated him for General Secretary of NAP Sindh. He was opposed by Comrade Ghulam

Muhammad Leghari. G. M. Syed supported Leghari, while Syed's son Imdad Muhammad Shah and Comrade Sobho Gianchandani supported Qazi Sahib. Qazi Sahib won and was re-elected as General Secretary. (80)

When the civil disobedience campaign failed, Qazi Sahib and his colleagues decided to confront the central government directly. They toured Sindh, mobilizing farmers for a protest in Karachi.

In October 1958, he organized a massive farmers' conference in Karachi's Golimar area, attended by thousands from across Sindh. The conference was chaired by NAP Sindh President Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi. Qazi Sahib demanded that allotted lands be sold to farmers at fair prices. After the conference, a large rally was held, led by an elderly farmer woman. Many women participated. (81)

The next day, another rally was held in the President's area, again attended by thousands.

This show of strength forced the government to take notice. It agreed to negotiate with farmer leaders. A delegation led by Qazi Faiz Muhammad met President Iskander Mirza, including Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Usmani, and Comrade Abdul

Qadir. (82) Iskander Mirza agreed with Qazi Sahib's proposals but said no action could be taken unless Sindh's ministers and elite agreed.

Before talks could progress, martial law was imposed. The civilian government was dissolved, ministries collapsed, and all democratic avenues were closed. The movement was halted midway, and Qazi Sahib was imprisoned. (83)

After martial law, oppression against Sindhi farmers intensified. Fertile lands were forcibly taken and handed to others. Farmers were displaced.

Despite this, Qazi Sahib did not lose hope. He remained active, seeking new ways to continue the struggle. For him, temporary defeats paved the way for lasting victories. To believe nothing will change is the greatest lie. Everything is possible. One day, farmers will triumph. One day, enslaved nations will raise the flags of freedom. For that, people must remain active, never despair, never tire.

Ayub's Martial Law

As public opposition to One Unit continued to grow, unrest intensified across the country—especially in the smaller provinces. Sindh's political leaders remained actively engaged in efforts to dismantle this oppressive system. They accelerated the work of the *Sindh Anti-One Unit Front*. Through their efforts, a bill against One Unit was presented in the West Pakistan Assembly in 1957. Out of 300 members, 296 voted in favor. The government now had no justification to maintain this system. But the exploitative elite were unwilling to relinquish their privileges so easily.

When, in September 1958, leaders from across the country demanded the abolition of One Unit, the military junta led by Ayub Khan seized power in October. The Constituent Assembly was dissolved, ministries were abolished, democracy was dismantled, and martial law was imposed. These steps were taken to preserve One Unit,

suppress public movements, and continue the looting by the ruling class.

The military regime began targeting democratic leaders across Sindh and the rest of the country. Along with other NAP leaders, Qazi Faiz Muhammad was imprisoned. (84)

To justify his detention, a false case was filed under Section 108 of the Criminal Code in Nawabshah, and another in Tando Adam. Whenever he was taken to court, he was shackled and bound with ropes. (85) Eventually, the cases were proven false, and he was released after six months.

During Ayub's rule, Qazi Sahib made tireless efforts to end One Unit and restore democracy. He held Sindh's power-hungry landlords and religious elites responsible for imposing One Unit on Sindh. These elites had traded away Sindh's autonomy to protect their own interests and suppress the class consciousness of the Sindhi people. Qazi Sahib began organizing movements in collaboration with other provinces, firmly believing that if Sindhi's and other smaller nationalities united, One Unit would be defeated.

He wrote:
“One Unit is not something sweet that can be easily swallowed. It is a grave dug by Sindh’s elite to bury the Sindhi people… To destroy this grave, all Sindhi’s, Balochs, Pathans, and our sympathetic Punjabis and Bengalis must unite. If we struggle sincerely, One Unit will surely be abolished.” (86)

During the One Unit era, hired writers and intellectuals began portraying it as a historical necessity, using their minds and conscience to justify it. They rejected the modern identity of nations and sang the tune of Muslim nationalism for personal gain. Qazi Sahib responded forcefully, exposing them in the court of public opinion. He called One Unit a conspiracy to erase Sindhi’s and create a separate homeland for outsiders, giving their language dominance and space to expand.

He wrote:
“This is a plan by some Urdu-speaking leaders to open Sindh’s borders. Once their population surpasses that of Sindhi’s, they will close the gates and eliminate Sindh… These are all schemes to destroy Sindh. We will never, ever sacrifice Sindh. The destruction of Sindh means the blood of one crore living souls, the death of a civilization and language five to ten thousand years old. Even if

the land disappears, the fragrance of Sindh will remain eternal in the souls of Sindhi's." (87)

Throughout Ayub's regime, Qazi Faiz Muhammad fought against military dictatorship, for the restoration of democracy, and for basic human rights from every available platform. In this dark era, he convened a joint meeting of all political parties in Nawabshah. Despite a ban on political activity, a rally was held, attended by prominent leaders, and a future program against Ayub's martial law was formulated.

In 1964, Ayub Khan announced presidential elections to legitimize his rule and further strengthen his dictatorship. The National Awami Party nominated Fatima Jinnah to challenge him. NAP actively supported her campaign. (88) Qazi Faiz Muhammad, following the party's decision, led a strong campaign for Fatima Jinnah in Nawabshah district. He published pamphlets, posters, and appeals, mobilizing the public against Ayub Khan. He personally visited every voter in the district in his car. (89)

He appealed to the "Basic Democracy voters" to vote against Ayub on the following grounds:

1. Instead of resolving One Unit, Ayub's government was enforcing it through coercion.
2. The chains of American slavery around our necks had grown tighter.
3. Sindh's lands, jobs, and natural resources had been stolen from us. (90)

Using these points, he campaigned vigorously for Fatima Jinnah. Despite Ayub Khan rigging the elections to declare himself president, Fatima Jinnah secured 30,000 out of 80,000 votes in the district. (91)

Qazi Sahib also attended the All Parties Conference in Lahore. He distributed anti–One Unit pamphlets and participated in protests against martial law. Sindh's politicians appointed him to the conference's subject committee. (92)

In this way, Qazi Faiz Muhammad consistently and steadfastly defended Sindh's rights on every front.

Key Role in Awami League

In 1967, Qazi Faiz Muhammad received a message from Awami League convener Qamaruzzaman, sent by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, inviting him to rejoin the Awami League. The party had decided to include opposition to One Unit in its official program. Qamaruzzaman invited Qazi Sahib to attend a Working Committee meeting in Dhaka, where a resolution against One Unit would be passed. Qazi Sahib attended the meeting along with other colleagues from Sindh. Not only was the resolution passed, but Awami League leaders also strongly advocated for the autonomy and rights of West Pakistan's smaller provinces. This led Qazi Sahib to rejoin the Awami League. (93)

Afterward, he toured Bengal with Awami League leaders.

To restore democracy and secure provincial autonomy, the Awami League formed a united front with other democratic parties to collectively oppose military dictatorship. Qazi Faiz Muhammad was appointed to the West Pakistan

Council of this joint front on behalf of the Awami League.

During a meeting of the united front, a resolution against One Unit was proposed. The final decision was left to the Bengalis, who, after consulting with Qazi Sahib, opposed One Unit and supported provincial autonomy. In the meeting, Punjab representatives objected to Balochistan's autonomy, arguing that it was too small and economically underdeveloped to govern itself. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman asked Qazi Sahib for his opinion. Qazi Sahib defended the Baloch cause, presented relevant data, and strongly advocated for Balochistan's autonomy. Based on his arguments, the proposal to make Balochistan a separate province was approved. (94)

In March 1969, under pressure from the public movement, military dictator Ayub Khan handed over power to another general, Yahya Khan, and withdrew from public life. Yahya Khan, facing mounting pressure, announced general elections. Upon this announcement, Qazi Faiz Muhammad traveled to Bengal, visiting places like Pabna, Jessore, and Bogra.

Later, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman convened a major All Pakistan Awami League conference in Dhaka.

Qazi Sahib led a large delegation from Sindh, including Imdad Shah, Ghulam Nabi Pathan, and others. The party constitution was passed at this conference, with Qazi Sahib playing a major role in its drafting. He was elected Senior Vice President of the central Awami League. (95)

Upon returning to Sindh, Qazi Sahib worked to strengthen the Awami League and establish branches across the province. On 15 September 1969, a meeting of the party's organizing committee was held at Jam Sadiq Ali's residence, chaired by Qazi Sahib. Plans were made to open party offices in Sindh. On 28 September 1969, the provincial office of the Awami League was inaugurated in Hyderabad by Qazi Sahib.

To dismantle One Unit, restore provincial rights, and revive democracy, smaller provinces in West Pakistan began planning a joint struggle. Politicians from Sindh, Balochistan, and the Frontier Province worked to form a united front. Qazi Sahib played a key role in this effort. As part of this initiative, the Balochistan United Front organized a convention in Quetta on 30 September 1969. G. M. Syed, Agha Ghulam Nabi Pathan, and Qazi Sahib were invited to attend. (96)

Around 2,000 political activists from the three provinces participated. They passed a resolution demanding the abolition of One Unit and the restoration of provinces, while rejecting the 1956 Constitution and the zonal federation proposal. (97)

In his speech at the convention, Qazi Faiz Muhammad urged the people of the smaller provinces to support the Awami League's Six Points, arguing that these points were essential not only for preserving provincial identity but also for escaping the grip of military dictatorship. He said:
"The Bengalis are struggling for their rights. They are making strong efforts to end One Unit. But we are doing nothing for ourselves." (98)

For the 1970 elections, the Awami League decided to contest on the basis of its Six-Point Program, which aimed to protect the rights of Bengal and other smaller provinces. The party assured leaders from Sindh and other provinces of its commitment to their rights. Qazi Faiz Muhammad worked tirelessly to spread awareness of the Six Points among the people of Sindh and other provinces, believing that unity with the Bengalis on this basis could help achieve autonomy.

Only feudal lords, landlords, and agents of outsiders opposed the Six Points. Due to lack of public awareness and the conspiracies of these agents, the people did not fully embrace the Awami League's program. In Sindh, opposition to Mujib's Six Points came only from figures like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, and A. K. Brohi—outsiders' agents and traitorous landlords.

Qazi Sahib publicly exposed these three individuals, accusing them in press statements of sabotaging unity between Bengalis and the people of Sindh and other provinces. He stated:
"Except for these three gentlemen, no other political leader from the smaller provinces has opposed Bengal's Six-Point demands. Despite being fierce rivals, these three have united in opposing political solidarity between the provinces and Bengal after visiting Punjab. Those who oppose the Six-Point Program are indirectly supporting One Unit. The public must be made aware of their hypocritical tactics." (99)

The 1970 Elections and the Fall of Pakistan

In the December 1970 general elections, Qazi Faiz Muhammad contested from Nawabshah constituency for the National Assembly on the Awami League platform. His main opponents were Shabbir Ahmed Shah (Qayyum Muslim League) and Hakim Ali Zardari (Pakistan Peoples Party). (100) Despite being a nationalist leader, G. M. Syed supported Shabbir Ahmed Shah based on Syed lineage rather than Sindh's interests. This was despite the fact that the Awami League and the United Sindh Front had jointly fielded candidates, and Qazi Sahib was their consensus nominee. He was campaigning on the basis of the Awami League's Six Points—an agenda that should have appealed to nationalists and Sindh-friendly voters.

Qazi Sahib reportedly told G. M. Syed:
"Saein! The landlords and their allies will never value our sacrifices." (101)

Before the elections, Mir Imdad Ali analyzed the political landscape in his book, writing:
“Qazi Faiz Muhammad is an unblemished, courageous mujahid who has waged jihad against One Unit. He is a local lawyer, a friend of the National Awami Party and G. M. Syed. If we assess those who have served Sindh without blemish and raised the banner of jihad against One Unit, Qazi Faiz Muhammad is among the few. In some respects, he is stronger than G. M. Syed—because Syed’s loyalty to his lineage surpasses his loyalty to Sindh, while Qazi Sahib’s loyalty to Sindh surpasses even his loyalty to Muslim nationalism… But in politics, fame often favors the undeserving. The PPP had the upper hand, and the public’s political awareness was weak. So the real contest was between Hakim Ali Zardari and Shabbir Ahmed Shah.” (102)

Ultimately, Qazi Sahib lost the election.

During the campaign, PPP leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Qazi Sahib multiple times, offering him the Nawabshah seat and a senior party position if he joined the PPP. Qazi Sahib declined, saying:
“I do not agree with your party’s program. You are sacrificing the interests of smaller provinces to strengthen your position in Punjab. The success of

the Awami League would be a good omen for the people of the smaller provinces."

During the election period, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman toured West Pakistan and addressed public rallies in Karachi, Nawabshah, and Shikarpur alongside Qazi Sahib. The Nawabshah rally was especially successful. (103)

To appease Punjab, Bhutto and Muslim League leaders began fiercely opposing the Awami League's Six Points. Qazi Faiz Muhammad stood alone in defending them, criticizing PPP's double-dealing policies and protecting the Six Points. He toured Punjab and the Frontier Province to organize support for the Awami League, visiting Bahawalpur and Multan to meet with lawyers, and convening a major conference in Lahore. There, he harshly criticized Bhutto, calling him an enemy of the people. He later held a press conference in Karachi to denounce Bhutto's policies.

Qazi Sahib wrote:
"I had no personal conflict with Bhutto. The issue was Sindh. I believed that the autonomy we could gain under Sheikh Mujib and the Awami League could never be achieved through Bhutto." (104)

Yahya Khan held the December 1970 elections to defuse public pressure and install a right-wing government under military control. He was confident that no party would win a clear majority in either wing, allowing him to remain in power. But the Awami League won a sweeping majority, shattering Yahya's plans. The military junta, unwilling to accept the results, began resisting the transfer of power.

The Awami League demanded the end of martial law and the handover of power to elected representatives so that a constitution could be drafted based on the Six Points. This alarmed the military and Punjab's ruling elite, who saw their dominance threatened. If the Awami League came to power, its Six Points would empower the smaller provinces to such an extent that military rule and exploitation would become impossible.

Instead of transferring power, the generals began suppressing the Awami League and sent troops to crush democratic forces in East Pakistan. Until the military was fully prepared, President Yahya kept Sheikh Mujib engaged in negotiations.

On 24 March 1971, a final meeting was held. Sheikh Mujib invited Qazi Faiz Muhammad from Sindh to Dhaka and briefed him on the situation.

All major leaders except the PPP attended. Qazi Sahib joined the meeting, along with Wali Khan, Mufti Mahmood, Shah Ahmad Noorani, and Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo. They supported Mujib and agreed to meet Yahya Khan to press for acceptance of Mujib's demands. But Yahya refused. (105)

After the talks failed, Sheikh Mujib told Qazi Sahib:
"The negotiations have failed. The time is up. Tomorrow or the day after, there will be gunfire here. You must return. If you can't find a way out, I'll arrange for you to stay at a Bengali's home." (106)

Qazi Sahib asked about the other party leaders. Mujib replied:
"They have gone to India. I am the leader of the Bengalis. I will not run. I will die with my people." (107)

Qazi Sahib managed to secure a seat on a plane and returned to Karachi with other West Pakistani politicians and senior officials.

On the night of 25 March 1971, the Pakistan Army launched a brutal crackdown on the Bengali population. Tanks, warplanes, and machine guns

were used to massacre innocent civilians. Around 3 million people were killed, thousands of women were raped, and millions fled their homes. Cities and villages were reduced to rubble.

With this, Pakistan split into two. East Pakistan emerged as a new, independent state—**Bangladesh**.

Struggle for the Survival of the Sindhi Language

Qazi Faiz Muhammad's life was not only a symbol of struggle for political rights, but also a tireless fight for the survival and protection of the Sindhi language. He held a deep, eternal love for his mother tongue, and whenever Sindhi faced difficult times, he could not remain silent. He resisted through speeches, writings, hunger strikes, imprisonment, and even violent attacks.

After the creation of Pakistan, the Sindhi language came under pressure from non-native languages imposed by outsiders. This battle for survival and protection saw participation from national leaders, activists, farmers, laborers, students, and women. The language issue first emerged during the drafting of the 1954 Constitution and again during the 1956 Constitution. It intensified in 1961 when, under Ayub Khan's regime, an education reform commission presented its recommendations in 1962.

These recommendations undermined the rights and status of the Sindhi language. Its role was reduced to being compulsory only up to grade five. Education through Sindhi readers was replaced with Urdu. The compulsory Sindhi paper for Urdu-speaking students was abolished, among other discriminatory measures. (108)

This injustice sparked outrage across Sindh and the entire country. The decision was widely condemned as shameful. Members of the National Assembly, politicians, students, writers, and various social groups opposed it. Not only did Sindhi's protest, but leaders from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Balochistan, and the Frontier Province also declared the commission's recommendations unjust toward Sindhi's.

Qazi Faiz Muhammad was at the forefront of this resistance. Among the 21 prominent leaders who signed a joint demand to the government from both East and West Pakistan, Qazi Sahib was one. He raised his voice for Sindhi language rights from every platform.

Ultimately, under public pressure, the authorities were forced to restore the status of the Sindhi language.

Struggle to Publish Voter Lists in Sindhi

As the 1970 general elections approached, the government announced that voter lists would be printed only in Urdu and Bengali. This decision was seen as discriminatory and hostile toward the Sindhi language. Notably, 22 years earlier during British rule, voter lists had been printed in Sindhi. Even during the early One Unit period, they were published in Sindhi. But now, the government stubbornly refused to include Sindhi, ignoring a straightforward and legitimate demand.

Sindhi speakers condemned the decision and demanded their rightful linguistic inclusion. Editorials were written, resolutions passed, statements issued, and protests held—but the government remained unmoved. In response, Sindhi students launched a movement demanding that voter lists also be printed in Sindhi.

On 8 November 1969, students staged demonstrations. Student leader Lala Qadir began a hunger strike. Symbolic hunger strikes spread across Sindh, with rallies and public meetings

held. (109) Alongside the demand for Sindhi voter lists, students also called for:

1. The abolition of One Unit
2. Withdrawal of cases against Sindh University employees

The demand for Sindhi voter lists remained central. PPP Chairman Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and United Sindh Front President G. M. Syed supported the students' demands. Qazi Faiz Muhammad, then Senior Vice President of the All Pakistan Awami League, also condemned the government's stubbornness and supported the students. On 11 November 1969, he issued a press statement and declared that if the demands were not met, he would join the hunger strike until death. (110)

The Awami League was the only party to offer practical support, with its senior vice president standing firmly beside the students. Qazi Sahib wrote:
"This demand for Sindhi voter lists should have come from politicians—not from young students." (111)

On 10 November 1969, Qazi Sahib attended a student-organized event called "Shaam-e-Sindh."

In his speech, he said:
“Our children are going on hunger strike for Sindh and the Sindhi language. We must also make sacrifices in solidarity.” (112)

After the event, he visited the hunger-striking students and garlanded them. On his second visit, seeing their deteriorating condition, he declared: “If their demands are not met, I too will go on hunger strike until death.” (113)

On 14 November 1969, Qazi Sahib began his hunger strike. His participation transformed the movement into a mass public campaign. Awami League leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman also supported the movement.

As the movement gained momentum and public support across Sindh, established political figures began to feel threatened. G. M. Syed opposed the movement and advised ending it. Qazi Sahib wrote:
“G. M. Syed opposed the movement and emphasized legal struggle, but we did not favor that approach.” (114)

Syed’s opposition disheartened many students, who considered ending the hunger strike. But Qazi Sahib persuaded them:

“If we end the movement without achieving our demands, it will be a disgrace. Our enemies will mock us as cowards and sellouts. Who will follow us then?”

Students agreed to continue. Palestinian, Bengali, and Baloch student organizations began visiting the hunger strikers in solidarity. During the strike, Qazi Sahib issued a statement:
“Sindh is a great and ancient land. The roots of Sindhi language and culture are deeply embedded in the hearts of the people. Unfortunately, there is a conspiracy to destroy Sindh and Sindhi’s through foreign culture. But we will resist and create a new Sindh in the spirit of Shah Latif and other Sufi poets.” (115)

Qazi Sahib was the first politician to actively join the movement, proving himself a true servant of Sindh and its people. The credit for the movement shifted from opportunistic leaders to Qazi Sahib, the Awami League, and patriotic students.

His involvement triggered fierce opposition from anti-Sindh elements. Outsiders began organizing counter-protests. Migrant leader Nawab Muzaffar held a press conference, saying:
“Due to hunger strikers in Sindh, efforts to maintain law and order have weakened. After

Qazi Faiz Muhammad joined the strike, the city's atmosphere has deteriorated. He is seeking political gain." (116)

On 16 November, Qazi Sahib responded:
"I am lying on a footpath in Hyderabad. There is no question of unrest or lawlessness. We have launched a peaceful struggle, ready to sacrifice our lives." (117)

On 17 November, despite illness, Comrade Ghulam Muhammad Leghari joined the hunger strike. Farmers, students, women, activists, and leaders began visiting the strikers. The movement intensified, which alarmed anti-Sindh forces.

On the night of 18 November at 1 AM, police and migrant thugs attacked the hunger strike camp. They beat the strikers with batons and rifle butts, breaking bones. Comrade Leghari suffered head injuries. All were arrested and taken to Hyderabad Central Jail. The next day, arrests of hunger strikers spread across Sindh. (118)

Qazi Faiz Muhammad and others continued their hunger strike in jail. Five days later, Bhutto visited them. Qazi Sahib told him:
"If our demands are met, we will end the

movement. First, abolish One Unit. Second, publish voter lists in Sindhi."

Eight more days passed. Protests erupted across Sindh. Medical students staged a sit-in outside the jail, demanding medical aid for the strikers. A team of doctors examined Qazi Sahib and his companions. He and Leghari were kept separate from the students. More students were arrested daily, including the brave young woman Akhtar Baloch. Qazi Sahib wrote letters to encourage her.

On 26 November, Qazi Sahib's health deteriorated severely. He lay on his bed, awaiting death. Finally, the government surrendered. Years of Sindhi struggle bore fruit.

On 28 November, the government announced the abolition of One Unit. On 29 November, it declared that voter lists would be published in Sindhi. On 30 November, the Action Committee announced the end of the hunger strike. (119)

Qazi Sahib and his companions ended their strike. On 8 December, he was released from jail—carrying with him the gift of Sindh's restored identity and recognition of the Sindhi language.

Sindhi Language as National Language Movement

The language issue in Sindh flared up again during the drafting of Pakistan's 1973 Constitution, when the government ignored Sindh's longstanding and legitimate demand and declared Urdu—the language of just 8% of the population—as the sole national language. This decision was widely condemned as unjust and illegitimate. The Sindhi people rose in protest across all sectors of society, demanding that Sindhi also be recognized as a national language and declared the sole official language of Sindh. (120)

Declaring only Urdu as the national language amounted to blatant political, cultural, economic, and linguistic exploitation of Sindhi's. It threatened to erase Sindhi rights and enabled outsiders to enter Sindh unchecked, pushing Sindhi's into a minority and paving the way for the province's fragmentation. (121)

Leaders like G. M. Syed, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, and others vocally opposed this injustice and strongly condemned the government's decision. (122)

During this time, President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto visited Karachi and invited Qazi Sahib and other politicians to discuss Pakistan's relations with Bangladesh and India. In that meeting, Qazi Sahib privately told Bhutto that the Sindhi language issue had been unnecessarily stirred up and politicized. Bhutto asked Qazi Sahib to submit a written note in favor of Sindhi, which Qazi Sahib composed in English and sent to him. (123)

In the note, Qazi Sahib presented clear and compelling arguments for recognizing Sindhi as a national language, stating that Sindhi is Pakistan's only fully developed and refined language, capable of functioning successfully in every sphere of life. (124)

He made the following demands:

1. Sindhi should be declared a national language of Pakistan.
2. Sindhi should be recognized as the sole official language of Sindh.

Qazi Sahib urged Bhutto that if full recognition was not yet possible, then at least Sindhi should retain the status it had before and after Pakistan's creation. He warned that having two official languages in Sindh would be disastrous for Sindhi,

and that the people—especially the youth—would not tolerate it.

On 7 July 1972, a language bill was presented in the Sindh Assembly and passed with a large majority. Only 11 non-Sindhi members opposed it and incited riots across Sindh. These riots had no justification—Urdu had already been accepted as Pakistan's national language, yet its supporters opposed even limited recognition of Sindhi within Sindh.

Using the language issue as a pretext, non-Sindhi's launched violent attacks on Sindhi's in Karachi, Hyderabad, Tando Jam, and Tando Allahyar. Sindhi's were killed, their properties destroyed, homes burned, and many were forced to flee.

President Bhutto, influenced by these reactionary and Urdu chauvinist riots, announced a "Language Conference" in Rawalpindi on 10 July. The government invited 5 Sindhi intellectuals and 20 Urdu intellectuals to participate. Initially, G. M. Syed, Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, Sheikh Ayaz, and Qazi Faiz Muhammad agreed to attend. But when Qazi Sahib reached Karachi, he learned that Syed and Rashdi had declined. He was left to represent Sindh alone.

At the conference hall, surrounded by 20 Urdu-speaking intellectuals, Qazi Sahib realized that his voice would be drowned out unless he spoke first. He requested President Bhutto to allow him to speak before anyone else. Bhutto agreed, and Qazi Sahib delivered a powerful speech defending Sindhi.

Here are excerpts from his historic address, published in the August 1972 issue of *Malir Digest*:

"Sindhi is not just a language—it is the embodiment of Sindh's culture, civilization, and identity. It is the soul's attire, the breath of Sindh… If Sindhi dies, Sindh dies. This land will lose all meaning.
Our demand is based on justice: Sindhi must be declared a national language. When the new constitution is drafted, Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi, and Sindhi should all be recognized as national languages. Urdu may be accepted as a national and link language—we will not object.
Mr. President, your language bill is unjust to us. We did not rush into the battlefield to demand our rights, though we had every reason to.
These four provinces can remain united under your leadership. But if you are removed by a military coup, Pakistan's survival will be in

jeopardy. The destruction and tyranny that would follow are unimaginable.
Do not misinterpret our silence. We consider your bill an act of oppression. If it is not amended, our youth will set themselves ablaze. That will be a small apocalypse.
Our demand is that Sindhi be the sole official language of Sindh. We do not want both Urdu and Sindhi to share that status.
For 25 years, Sindh has been exploited under the guise of Urdu. What Hindu moneylenders did to us in a hundred years, Urdu-speaking capitalists have done in 25. They took everything. Now, using Urdu as a shield, they want to become the ruling class and push Sindhi's out of power.
We will never let Sindh be destroyed. You'll have to throw all of us—including me—into the Arabian Sea before that happens.
We want Sindh to be a proud and dignified province within Pakistan. We want to live as brothers." (125)

Despite these heartfelt appeals, the government remained unmoved. Bhutto's administration, seeking favor with the dominant province and a specific minority elite, signed off on the death warrant of Sindhi language rights—making Sindh a bilingual province. This was a grave injustice to the people of Sindh.

To this day, the Sindhi people continue to fight on various fronts for recognition of their national democratic demand. The day Sindhi is officially recognized as a national language of Pakistan and the sole official language of Sindh, this long and noble struggle will finally reach its victory.

Final Days of Life

After the creation of Bangladesh, the political situation in the remaining Pakistan deteriorated rapidly. General Yahya Khan handed over power to Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who convened a meeting of all major politicians in Karachi to discuss new policies and relations with India and Bangladesh. Qazi Faiz Muhammad also attended this meeting.

Many Punjabi and migrant politicians opposed any ties with India or Bangladesh, labeling Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a traitor and infidel. They advised Bhutto not to recognize Bangladesh. Qazi Sahib strongly criticized this stance and advised Bhutto to immediately recognize Bangladesh and establish friendly relations with India. He told Bhutto clearly:
“Bangladesh must be recognized at once, and friendship with India must be maintained. We Pakistanis and Indians are born of the same land.” (126)

Bhutto was positively influenced by Qazi Sahib’s advice and acknowledged the validity of his position.

Since Qazi Sahib was a close friend and ally of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Bhutto sought his help in understanding Mujib's views. Prior to this, Qazi Sahib had already requested permission from the government to meet Mujib. The government approved the request, hoping to gain insights into Mujib's thinking. Bhutto personally visited Qazi Sahib in Nawabshah and granted him permission to travel to London.

Qazi Sahib met Sheikh Mujib in London, where Mujib greeted him warmly and affectionately. Mujib offered Qazi Sahib residence in London, but after staying for three weeks, Qazi Sahib returned to Pakistan. (127)

After the breakup of Bengal, tensions in Sindh escalated. A specific minority group began targeting supporters of Mujib and advocates of provincial autonomy. Qazi Sahib came under suspicion, and his movements were closely monitored. His activism for Sindhi language rights further alarmed anti-Sindh elements. The government also began opposing him harshly.

These developments deeply disturbed Qazi Sahib. He decided to leave the country for a while. One day, he arrived at the airport with his wife intending to travel to Saudi Arabia, but the

government imposed a travel ban and sent him back home.

This act caused him great emotional pain. His presence had become intolerable to government agents and certain minority factions, because he was demanding for Sindh the same rights Mujib had demanded for Bengal. As a result, a plot was hatched to eliminate him and silence his voice forever.

Realizing that he could no longer work for Sindh from within Pakistan, Qazi Sahib decided to leave the country illegally. In September 1974, without informing anyone, he crossed into India via Tharparkar. After enduring many hardships, he reached the Indian border, where he was arrested by Indian forces. Upon learning his identity, the Indian government released him and hosted him as a guest. They informed Sheikh Mujib of his arrival.

After spending a few weeks in Delhi, Qazi Sahib traveled to Bangladesh. His arrival was kept secret, and he was treated as a special guest of the Bangladeshi government. Mujib offered him residence in Dhaka at government expense and assured him that his family would be invited to

join him. If he preferred to stay in London, the Awami League would cover all expenses.

However, due to Bangladesh's economic difficulties, Qazi Sahib did not want to be a burden. He traveled to Kabul, where the Awami League covered his expenses for two days, and then proceeded to London.

He lived in London for about a year, connecting with Sindhi students and studying the educational system there. The Pakistani government filed a case against him for illegally leaving the country and viewed his meeting with Mujib with suspicion.

Prime Minister Bhutto and Chief Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi sent messages urging him to return. When Jatoi visited London, he met Qazi Sahib and pressed him to come back.

Realizing he could not serve Sindh effectively from abroad, Qazi Sahib agreed to return. He arrived at Karachi Airport via British Airways as a foreign national and was granted a two-day stay. After reaching home, he was arrested a month later in Halani and held in Clifton police lockup. He was then transferred to a government bungalow in Gharo, Thatta district, where he was interrogated for two to three weeks. After four months, he was

placed under house arrest. (128) He was released a few months later.

Afterward, Qazi Sahib retired from active politics and devoted the rest of his life to Sindhi literature, focusing on publishing his written works. He also continued practicing law.

Even after retirement, he remained close to the Sindh Hari Committee, working to raise awareness among Sindhi farmers. In his free time, he would visit rural areas, hold discussions with farmers, and educate them about their rights.

A few weeks before his death, he suffered an accident and broke his arm. Just as it began to heal, his hearing deteriorated. Two days before his passing, he traveled from Nawabshah to Halani, where he suffered a heart attack. He could not recover and passed away on **13 October 1982**. He was laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard in Halani.

Literary and Cultural Life

1. Literary Contributions

Qazi Faiz Muhammad was not only a principled politician and national activist but also a gifted writer, poet, and artist. He wrote extensively on political theory and complex philosophical issues, alongside purposeful novels and poetry. His writings reflect the realities of Sindhi society, especially the pain and struggles of the working class—farmers and laborers.

His pen waged an organized intellectual jihad against class oppression, religious hatred, and social injustice. Through his writings, he not only exposed the flaws and injustices of society but also laid out a roadmap for building a secular and socialist future. His works are vivid portraits of societal decay and blueprints for transformation.

He enriched Sindhi literature with **three major novels**, unmatched in depth and purpose. Most of his books were written during imprisonment or

exile, as political turmoil and constant activism left little time for writing outside of jail. His novels *Unjaan* and *Jansaar*, and his autobiography *Munhjo Safar* were written in prison. Other works like *22 Soo 22 A*, *Lateefee Sindh in Search of Truth*, and *Dardan Sando Dastan* (in two volumes) were written during exile in London.

He also wrote numerous essays and articles on contemporary issues, published in newspapers of the time. If his speeches, pamphlets, letters, and unpublished writings were compiled, they would add several volumes to Sindhi literature and preserve his legacy for future generations.

□ Major Works

1. Jansaar
A novel written in Sukkur Central Jail in 1954, published for the second time in Hyderabad in 1980. 348 pages. It portrays pre-Partition Sindhi society, highlighting feudal oppression and efforts to create Hindu-Muslim divisions.

2. 2222 A.D.
A novel published in Hyderabad in 1979. 309 pages. It sketches a futuristic society, discusses the benefits of scientific progress, and envisions a civilized world based on human values and justice.

3. Soran Sandi Sej
A collection of essays published in Nawabshah in 1970. 251 pages. Includes letters from Allama I.I. Qazi, reflections on life and philosophy, tributes to family members, and details of the 1969 student movement for Sindhi language rights.

4. Allama I.I. Qazi
A memoir published in Hyderabad in 1981. 60 pages. Based on personal memories and reflections about Allama Qazi, shedding light on Sindh's intellectual and political landscape.

5. Hari Committee and Allottee Movement
A political history published in Hyderabad in 1984. 96 pages. Chronicles the class struggle of Sindhi farmers and the role of the Sindh Hari Committee. Valuable for researchers studying agrarian movements.

6. Dardan Sando Dastan
A poetry collection in two volumes, published in Nawabshah in 1980 and 1982. Total 1000 pages. Explores themes of spiritual love and struggle through figures like Marui, Sassui, and Sohni from Sindhi folklore.

7. Lateefee Sindh in Search of Truth
A philosophical work published in Nawabshah in

1979. 134 pages. Discusses metaphysical concepts like matter, existence, thought, love, politics, and music, with references to Shah Latif's heroines and Sindh's spiritual identity.

8. Munhjo Safar (My Journey)
An autobiography (later published). 1000 pages. Covers Qazi Sahib's political life, movements, reflections on Sindh's conditions, and detailed accounts of key events. A vital source for 20th-century Sindh history.

9. Unjaan (Unknown)
An unpublished novel, approximately 200 pages. Considered as powerful and meaningful as his other major novels. Its publication remains a pressing need.

In addition to these, Qazi Faiz Muhammad also authored several smaller booklets, essays, articles (published and unpublished), pamphlets, letters, and speeches—many of which are preserved in magazines and private collections. These writings are equally important and deserve compilation and publication.

Love for Music

Qazi Faiz Muhammad was also a passionate musician with a melodious and captivating voice. From childhood to old age, he remained deeply connected to classical music. He was friends with legendary artists like Ustad Bade Ghulam Ali Khan, Barkat Ali Khan, and Sindh's own Ustad Allahdino Noonari.

He learned and performed ragas such as Darbari, Bhairavi, and Miyan ki Todi, often practicing by the sea with his tanpura. In his later years, he recorded two classical music cassettes in Hyderabad and wrote several articles on music. He was interviewed by the Institute of Sindhology, where he spoke eloquently about the past, present, and future of Sindhi music.

After stepping back from politics in 1971, he turned to music as a medium of expression. He traveled to villages with his harmonium, sang for farmers, and then discussed their issues—raising awareness and inspiring social consciousness.

Toward the end of his life, he dreamed of reviving classical Sindhi music by establishing an academy. Unfortunately, time did not permit him to fulfill this vision. He often lamented the decline of true classical music in Sindh, calling it a science that modern singers had lost touch with. He criticized contemporary musicians for lacking training in raag, taan, and sur, saying today's music was reduced to broken rhythms and superficial beats.

Legacy

Whether through literature, music, or activism, Qazi Faiz Muhammad never stopped raising his voice for truth and justice. Even in the darkest times, he remained a beacon of hope—lighting the flame of awareness and resistance.

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22. *Ji Jot Jalai Via*, p. 15
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38. Same as above
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48. Detailed material on this convention is in hand but omitted here due to length.
49. *Sindh Jo Syed*, p. 56
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62. Same as above
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